

# PEACE NEWS

No. 451 February 2, 1945 2d.

## A NEW REQUEST:

## Send no more food for France — FOR THE PRESENT

FOOD relief campaigners and other "Peace News" readers responded royally to the appeal for gifts of foodstuffs to be sent to France through Entr'aide Française. The Representative of Entr'aide Française in this country writes to thank them "very sincerely for the alacrity and generosity displayed." What has already been sent should go to France in the next few days.

But please DO NOT SEND MORE FOOD YET to Entr'aide Française. There may well be another opportunity soon, and non-perishable foodstuffs can be collected and stored locally against this moment. It is hoped to announce in these columns the result of negotiations now proceeding between Entr'aide Française and the Ministry of Food on which the future of this relief project largely depends.

We are not unhelpful of the result; it would be intolerable if the Government denied those who wish to share their rations with the hungry the right to do so. On the other hand, we cannot rest content (writes the Public Action Sec., PPU) with the privilege of sharing our rations in this way. We must also plead for a radical revision of the British imports programme, so that more shipping-space can be released to take supplies from the Americas to hungry Europe.

## CHRISTMAS RATIOMS

Up to Jan. 24 the Manchester Guardian had received £114 6s. 6d. in response to a reader's suggestion that the equivalent in cash of our additional Christmas fare should be sent to that paper for transmission to one of the European relief agencies.

## "SEND WHAT THEY NEED"

The more fortunate nations should send Europe's devastated countries adequate relief, "not as loans, not as outright gifts, but simply as assistance or as charity in the most effective and realistic sense of that noble word," said Mr. John A. Ryan, Director of the Department of Social Action of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, addressing the Catholic Economic Association Convention.

"Let the beneficiaries assume the obligations of making a return in such kinds and quantities as will be mutually agreeable," he added. He thought the industrial power freed upon German defeat would be "more than ample" to produce the needed goods.

## HOW LONG?

"HOW long will it last?" The question must have been repeated millions of times in the last fortnight—anxiously, with regard to the Weather (for once more than a polite conversational topic); hopefully, in respect of the War.

So far as the first subject is concerned, at the time of writing our anxiety turns to hope. But the more sombre matter of the War is not so easily dismissed. Though the end may not be far off, the ordinary man has had that particular hope deferred too often in the past to give it full rein now.

Anyway, the end of the unrestrained violence will not mean an end of suffering in Europe. It will, we may hope, bring opportunities that war has denied to men and women of imagination, but it will bring its own special dangers too. To take advantage of the opportunities and to awaken more people to the dangers is the object of the Peace News Fund.

Contributions since Jan. 19: £32 14s. 6d. Total to date: £5,722 6s. 8d.

## THE EDITOR

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News, Ltd., and address them to the Accountant, Peace News 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

# WHY THE BIG THREE STILL REQUIRE A JOINT POLICY

THE Russians claimed on Jan. 27 less than 90,000 prisoners on the eastern front. That is a very small number, considering the size of the operations. It suggests the possibility that the Germans are withdrawing according to plan to the lines on which they hope to make their real defence.

Capt. Liddell Hart writes:

"We are bound to reckon with the possibility that the German Command planned such a withdrawal not only to evade an impending blow, which it felt unable to withstand, but to dislocate the Russian winter plans, as it had already dislocated those of the western allies. "The German Command may also be hoping that by abandoning most of Poland, and particularly Warsaw, the chance of political complications among the 'United Nations' will be increased." (Daily Mail, Jan. 22.)

The inverted commas for "United Nations" are Capt. Liddell Hart's invention. They are amply justified. For even though there is a crop of

unilaterally, and without consultation with, or the full approval of the peoples concerned. At the impending conference the time had come to revise some of the decisions taken piecemeal and unilaterally during the war and to make an attempt to fit them into a system of Europe that could be regarded as a permanent foundation for the continent of Europe."

But what real chance is there of this happening? In the existing confusion everyone is engaged in staking out the largest possible claim.

## New French militarism

GEN. DE GAULLE the newcomer is losing no time. He has declared that, whether her allies like it or not, "France intends that after the war her forces will be installed along the Rhine from end to end." He made it clear, adds the Times correspondent (Jan. 26) that he had in mind the right bank as well, which with the Ruhr basin forms a strategic whole.

This is a truly fantastic outcome of the war. We are to endure a new phase of French militarism, more aggressive than it would have been if France had not been defeated. This new militarism, lacking the economic foundations which could sustain it, will be not only fatal to France her-

## Observer's Commentary

Washington reports to the effect that Roosevelt is prepared to acquiesce in a hard peace for Germany, the variations in the reported terms are so great that some versions sound very much like a soft peace—compared to what Stalin and Churchill propose.

Still it must be admitted that there is nothing in the report so far to confirm the hope that Senator Vandenberg's proposal might stiffen Roosevelt's resistance to the plans for World War Three.

## Political mine-fields

THE political complications certainly accumulate. "Many months ago Himmler gave the plainest warning that if and when the enemy was driven from the lands he had occupied a vast political mine-field would be left behind" (Times, Jan. 26). We have been dealing with one such mine-field in Greece, and there is no guarantee that it will not go on exploding. In Yugo-Slavia we are again forced into a position in which both British prestige and British honour have suffered badly. The capture of Warsaw by the Russians brings no comfort to anybody. Indeed, it is a tragedy in itself. For those who fought so heroically against the Germans in August last are now being proscribed or deported by the Russian authorities.

Nor is anything substantial being done on the material side to alleviate the misery of Europe. UNRRA, of which such great hopes were entertained two years ago, has not been able really to function anywhere. The fallacy of those who believed that material assistance would itself settle the political confusion of Europe has been glaringly exposed. Without a political settlement material relief is impossible. For the indispensable condition of effective relief is stable government and efficient administration.

## No plan for Europe

THERE is obviously no plan for the political settlement of Europe. Even when permanent machinery for concerting policy is created it cannot function. The European Advisory Council, formed eighteen months ago, has simply dropped out of the picture. It did not work. It could not work. Partly because neither Stalin nor Roosevelt nor Churchill was prepared to delegate any of his authority; but mainly because there was no common policy which would have permitted such delegation. And it is hard to believe that the situation will be remedied at the conference of the Big Three, whenever that takes place. Lord Templewood described the position with great restraint of language in the House of Lords (Jan. 25):

"Under our eyes there had been gradually taking shape the new pattern of Europe. It was very different from the pattern some of them had contemplated two or three years ago. It differed in certain material respects from the principles of the Atlantic Charter. Difficulties in Europe were being settled piecemeal,

## Good God! said God...

—Reuter message quoted in the Evening Standard, Jan. 18.

A HOLLY-DECORATED Christmas card printed with a prayer for fair weather for battle was given by General Patton to all men in the Third Army on Christmas Day. On one side was a message from Patton to his men.

The prayer reads:

"Almighty and most merciful Father, we humbly beseech Thee of Thy great goodness to restrain these immoderate rains with which we have to contend. Grant us fair weather for battle. Graciously hearken to us as soldiers who call upon Thee that, armed with Thy power, we may advance to victory and crush the oppression and wickedness of our enemies and establish Thy justice among men and nations. Amen."

Since Christmas Day there have been considerable spells of excellent weather on the Third Army front. Snow and frost, across which armour can operate, replaced rain and mud.

self, but a permanent threat to the peace of Europe. De Gaulle's language was truculent in the extreme. No doubt it proceeds from a sense of inferiority; but that very combination of material dependence and exaggerated political independence is the most dangerous of all.

In order to sustain this ominous policy France is to be subjected to the now familiar process of spiritual rehabilitation by being mobilized for total war.

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

# Britain's responsibility towards Europe

by A. E. SOUTH

IT appears to surprise the more popular journalists that the French collaborationists now being tried by the De Gaulle Government do not excuse their collaboration with the Germans by stating their love for Germany, but by emphasising their hatred and distrust of this country. They are doing this of course because even if De Gaulle has not yet learnt to hate us, he has begun to distrust us, and their vituperations, therefore, fall on ears that are not entirely unresponsive; but this is by the way.

Our popular journalists have created a legend of a Britain, misunderstanding and misunderstood, a Britain that fails because of her virtues, and from 1918-39 attempted to institute an era of Christian rule in Europe, but was thwarted by the continent. This may seem a fantastic picture, yet this is how the majority of Britons now see their country.

If Britain is to be a successful participant in European Federation after the war, and if indeed she is to be capable of co-operation with Europe at all, this legend must be dispelled. And it is not unpatriotic to dispel the legend. It is good patriotism to seek to remove faults in one's own country, and bad patriotism to gloss them over.

If one were asked to state one's major criticism of British foreign policy over the past twenty-five years in a sentence, one would say "It has been above all else irresponsible."

## EQUANIMITY

The reasons for this irresponsibility are two-fold. The first is the twenty miles of water dividing this country and the continent. It has been possible for Britain to conduct diplomacy in Europe with the same equanimity as a housewife stirring a simmering bowl of soup. But the German secret weapons have made that expanse of water seem very slight, and the very ease with which the Allied Forces invaded the continent, should drive the lesson home, for all military operations can be reversed. The second reason is the Empire which has made Britain largely

independent of Europe in an economic sense. Whether the Empire will be as great an economic bulwark in the future as it has been in the past remains to be seen. It obviously cannot be until the war with Japan is over. The indications are that whilst remaining British in name, it will become part of the financial ramifications of the USA in fact.

To state every irresponsible action in British foreign policy over the past twenty-five years would be to draw up a list far beyond the capacity of this journal to print. One can only give major instances. It was irresponsible of this country to pursue an independent policy following Versailles, and thus alienate France, and equally irresponsible to pursue that policy without making democratic Germany the economic, diplomatic and territorial concessions that would ensure her stability and friendship. It was irresponsible, again, to deny Germany the right to rearm, and yet fail to support France in her repeated protests against German rearmament. It was irresponsible to employ sanctions against Italy that did not prevent her from invading Abyssinia, yet made her a mortal enemy from that day onwards, and irresponsible to make a pledge of military aid to Poland in full knowledge that it could not be effectively implemented. It was irresponsible to declare war on Germany when the military effectives to wage that war were not available, and irresponsible to alienate Russia over the Finnish question when new allies were urgently needed.

In effect Britain's attitude towards Europe in pre-war years was that of an architect thoroughly ashamed of a house he has planned. Like the architect we did not live in the house, and found it more convenient to efface it from our mind. Suggestions for improvements irritated us. When they were forcible suggestions we began to listen. Yes—Nazi Germany could occupy the Rhineland if it would only keep quiet. It could even have Austria and the Sudetenland, but it must keep quiet. It did not keep quiet, however, and Mr. Chamberlain discovered to his terror that Nazi Germany was not only becoming a powerful trade rival in South America and the Balkans, but the one dominant power on the Continent.

If there is to be a future for Britain it can only be seen in relation to Europe, and in a few words one can say what our post-war foreign policy should be. It must be responsible. It must, moreover, be consistently European. If Britain can make it clear to Europe that her spirit is too great to be balked by twenty miles of water, that she is capable of comprehending a continent and identifying herself with it, then two legends will die. The first will die here. It will be that of an unblemished, misunderstood Britain. The second will die on the Continent. It will be that of perfidious Albion.



# PEACE NEWS

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All letters on other than editorial matters should be addressed to the Manager

## JOURNEY'S END

THE ideological confusion in these days is bewildering indeed. The situation at the end of the last war, complex though it was, was clarity itself compared to the situation today. Certain principles were then acknowledged as having universal validity, however difficult it might be to apply them fairly. National groups had the right to self-determination; and since self-determination could be conceived only as a democratic process, representative government was equally the right of each national group. The Powers which embodied a different political idea—the multinational Austro-Hungarian Empire, the absolute autocracy of the Russian Czarism, the semi-autocratic German Reich—had all gone down in the ordeal of war. Democratic discontents, national aspirations, had weakened them from within. Democratic nationalism was victorious; and it was fairly represented by the victorious Powers. There was on the ideological level no dissension between Britain, France, Italy, and USA. They were admissible variants of a single political idea.

The revolutionary collapse of Russia in 1917 made possible this rationalization of World War I as a victorious war against autocracy. World War II has been rationalized from the beginning as a struggle against Fascism. But whereas autocracy is a fairly simple conception, Fascism is not. It is very doubtful whether it is capable of definition at all. It is a vivid and highly emotive term of abuse, certainly. It provides a common object of hatred for liberals, democrats, socialists, and communists. But what it really means is obscure. If one were asked why Tito's Government in Yugo-Slavia should not be called Fascist, it would be difficult to find a rational answer. The fact that Fascism was originally conceived as the antithesis to Communism supplies no illumination. For Communism, at the time when Fascism was conceived as its conscious antithesis, was a professedly anti-national creed. Fascism in 1921 was an assertion of nationalism against international Communism. But in 1945 Communism is as intensely nationalist as Fascism itself.

It would be fantastic to pretend that this war is a war against nationalism. The other element in Fascism—the omnipotence of the State—is not likely to be discredited by a victory in which the lion's share falls to Russia. So it is probable that this so-called "victory over Fascism" will have for its consequence the establishment of Fascism under other names. The combination of extreme nationalism and an all-powerful State appears more likely to prevail in Europe as a whole than any other political system. It may, of course, call itself Communist; but that will make precious little difference to the reality.

So we may conclude that the rationalization of this war as a war against Fascism is really meaningless. The word Fascism in this context is merely a common term of abuse for a common military enemy. It enables the United Nations to pretend that they are united in something more than an ad hoc military alliance. Why they want to pretend this, it is hard to say—unless it is in order to conceal from themselves the impermanence and stability of any peace-settlement based upon their victory, and the improbability of their agreeing upon any peace-settlement at all.

This war is not a war against Fascism. It is a war of great Powers against great Powers, because they feared one another. The result of it will be vastly to strengthen the hold of militarism and totalitarianism on the peoples of the world, and vastly to diminish the authority of the liberal idea. The reign of Law—always precarious—has been so profoundly weakened by the processes of this war that it may not be re-established for generations.

# "WILSON"

## A film for the times

EVEN before the film "Wilson" had been released for public showing, one national newspaper, the News-Chronicle, devoted a maximum display on its leader page, to a review. The Editor had marked the importance of the event by sending both his diplomatic correspondent and his film critic to the Press show. And they unitedly raised their voices in the most damning denunciation. Their columnist A. J. Cummings went out of his way to endorse the condemnation. Our two critics conclude in chorus—

Film Critic: "As a film it's bad history." Diplomatic Correspondent: "As history it's bad history."

It was perhaps the reference to the "Fourteen Points" that so upset them. It might have the effect of war-propaganda in reverse. "Do you know," asks one of them,

"why the Allies in the last war finally accepted Wilson's Fourteen Points as the basis of peace with Germany, against their better judgment? No. Because, to put it bluntly, Wilson blackmailed them into acceptance by threatening to make a separate peace."

I have looked through a good many British records of the period, and have consulted an American friend, without finding confirmation of this statement.

The story made on me the impression of an almost fanatical determination to save the peace, or what could be saved of it, by establishing a fair and reasonable basis of principle on which to build the new world, and to include a League of Nations on that foundation. If Wilson really thought that basis a sine qua non, something without which a new and better world could not be born, then it was surely his duty to utter a solemn warning that, if his Allies failed him, he might have to try to secure it unilaterally. Into a world that seems to be moving rapidly towards an ultra-Versailles settlement, I can well understand that "Wilson" fits awkwardly.

### Luckless Ambassador

There is one episode inserted I think mainly with war propaganda value in view, where Wilson hands the German Ambassador, Count Bernstorff, his passports. The ambassador is not allowed to speak one word in defence either of himself or his country, although there were good men there also sincerely working for peace. Count Bernstorff's memoirs reveal him as an earnest advocate of negotiation, and against the unrestricted U-boat war which ultimately brought America into the conflict against Germany. "I am convinced," he wrote, "that politics and morality are indissolubly wedded, and that a policy that is not guided by moral considerations will find no mercy before the tribunal of world history, though it may achieve a passing success."

Colonel House, Wilson's special friend and confidant said: "I believe as time goes on the German people will recognize the wisdom of the counsel you gave your Government."

### Critics confounded

I found this film the opposite of almost everything the critics said: Not too long, not too noisy, not too garish, and not dull. I found the general impression beautiful, dignified, quiet, inspiring. We are living again, as in 1919, in a world of power-politics, from which moral principle has disappeared. I find the film inspiring because, with all his faults, Wilson stood splendidly for that. I am thankful that our people can hear the Fourteen Points enunciated clearly now as steadfast principles, and the declaration that "There shall be no annexations, no punitive damages..." A year after that word of peace had been spoken to a warring world, Wilson was struggling in Paris with Clemenceau, who demanded the Saar Basin and all German territory

### Story of the Congress movement

Indian National Congress. By Dr. D. R. Prem. Indian Publications (39 Welford Rd., Sutton Coldfield, Birmingham). 1s.

This is a handy booklet (32 pages) to give to anyone prepared to look at the other side of the picture of Congress so consistently put forward by Mr. Amery and apologists for British policy. Dr. Prem took part in the Congress movement at a very early age and in 1922 was sentenced to one year's imprisonment for his speeches. He gives a readable account of the origins and aims of Congress, and outlines its main achievements. The chances of a settlement of the Indian deadlock he realistically assesses as "very poor so long as Churchill remains Britain's Prime Minister."

west of the Rhine. "That is impossible," says Wilson, "the land belongs to the people; annexation is theft. If you are not prepared to abide by the solemnly accepted terms of the treaty, I might as well go home."

In his last despairing speech he realises that he is finished, that it is in one sense already too late. He sees before him in imagination his young American soldiers, and says to them:

"Boys, I told you before you went across the seas that this was a war to prevent war; but I realize with shame that you are betrayed. The glory of our armies and navies has gone like a dream in the night. A nightmare of dread is again upon the nations. The darkness will come again upon the world in the vengeful providence of God—another struggle in which not a few thousands, but millions of you will be sacrificed."

He sinks down exhausted, never fully to recover.

Wilson had proclaimed his vision of "men of all races working together for the common good," branding as liars those who said that universal peace was an idle dream. "This ideal is too deeply planted in men's minds to be permanently lost. The fight has only just begun. I have not the slightest anxiety about the final triumph of the things I've striven for."

I do not know whether these words were actually spoken by Wilson; but they are eternal truth, and it is good to hear them proclaimed in the heart of pleasure-seeking London.

CORDER CATCHPOOL

## LETTERS

### "Calamity of peace"

Commenting on the reactions of the volatile people of the U.S.A. and their lack of "war-energy" when the war news is "good" (the Times New York correspondent reports (Jan. 20) an amazing admission:

"The confidence of the people at large that within the space of weeks or less the Germans will be at their last gasp is only inadequately to be measured by the fears of traders in shares and commodities who were scuttling to safety at the end of this week lest the calamity of peace, coming upon them suddenly like a thief in the night, might find them unprepared; for while there has been in Wall Street what is called a 'peace scare' it has been anything but a big one—certainly nothing to make front pages of newspapers."

Such an outlook bodes ill for the rest of the peoples of the world whose future economic and political conditions may be dictated by this type of mentality.

G. F. GREEN

56 Gloucester Rd., New Barnet, Herts.

### Albert Schweitzer

I would draw your readers' attention to a slight error in the article on Schweitzer. I do so because I feel it further emphasizes the greatness of the man.

The decision to dedicate his life to the service of his fellows was made at 21; the particular form of service was decided at 30. In Schweitzer's words, "My decision was taken when I was twenty-one years old. In that year, while still a student, I resolved to devote my life until I was thirty to my pastoral work, to science and to music. If I had by that time accomplished what I hoped to achieve in science and music, I would dedicate the rest of my life to the service of my fellow men."

CAMPBELL WILKIE

48 Dundas Street, Glasgow, C.1.

### Christmas task

In response to the appeal made for gifts for German Prisoners in Hospital by Canon Green of Salford, we felt that here was a Christmas task well worth doing. So we arranged a number of small parcels, aiming, in the main, at something useful, and sent them to Canon Green about 10 days before Christmas.

The following letter from Canon Green made us feel glad we had helped with this splendid work.

"... I got more than enough for Salford Royal Hospital and for our Municipal Hospital. As they were of varying value we drew lots for them..."

"At the close the German in each ward who could speak most English made a speech thanking the hospital for the good food and skilful doctoring and saying 'When we get back to Germany we shall never forget the kindness we received in Salford Hospital'. They then sang us a selection of German Carols, beginning with 'Silent Night, Holy Night'. I believe this work is supremely worth doing. As fresh prisoners come in I hope to give each one of the presents I have left over, as a memento of his time in S.R.H. All good wishes for 1945. Yours very sincerely, Peter Green."

We feel sure others would like to know a little of what happened.

LEN & WIN SHAW

56 Talbot Rd., Harrow Weald, Middx.

### Those "isms"

Can anybody tell me the difference between Nazism, Fascism, Socialism, or Communism? The only difference I can see is the country in which each of these "isms" was given birth. Like the fingers on the hand they spring from the same source, i.e., the common man. If we had possessed a leader of Hitler's calibre the workers would have followed him en masse.

Politicians and writers have attempted to define these movements and have failed. Why then so much hair-splitting? The only ism I can understand is Nationalism. This curse of the age, this cause of war, this narrow-minded, arrogant, and bigoted "ism," is and must be the difference.

I am a coal-miner and frankly I do not care which of these four movements prevails as long as it benefits the masses. I have lived (or should I say existed) under democracy here and have had a pretty rotten time. I always

## WORDS OF PEACE

No. 110

The strongest and most effective influence that can be exerted by us is personal influence—the influence of man on man, of soul on soul, the influence of word, of example, of our whole life.

Women of Europe, you do not sufficiently exert this influence... It was within your power, and you should have fought against this war in the hearts of men before it broke out. You do not sufficiently realize your power as mothers, sisters, wives, friends, loved ones. It is in your power, if you will, to mould the heart of a man. He is in your hands—as a child—and in the hands of the woman he loves and respects, man is always a child... If a woman can save the soul of man, why do you not save them all? Doubtless because too few of you are saved yourselves... Seek a clear vision of the duty of compassion, of helping one another, of that unity of humanity which is the fulfilment of the Law of Christ. Be a living Peace in the midst of War.

—Romain Rolland, "Appeal to the Women of Europe, 1918."

### DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS

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thought democracy meant equality! What person outside a lunatic asylum can say equality exists here?

Let us face facts. This country today has subjugated the worker to the level of a (badly) paid slave. Oh! for another Oliver Cromwell, the dictator par excellence! He put Parliament in its proper place. Do not forget that one strong honest man is worth an army of weak dissemblers. Let us pray for another Oliver or else another Guy Fawkes!

F. W. READ

2 Harewood View, Pontefract, Yorks.

### Effect and motive

"The worst crimes of the Nazis do not surpass in horror and atrocity the obliteration attacks upon Europe..." (PN, Jan. 12). This is a dangerous statement. Of course one has to consider the effects of an action and whether it be objectively right apart from motives. One also has to remember that those who participate in these bombing raids may be guilty of grave moral failure through indifference or even pleasure in the results of their actions, but there still remains the valid distinction of cruelty inflicted chiefly through cruel motives, and incidental though inevitable pain inflicted with a motive chiefly other than cruelty desires on those afflicted. I am not arguing for the rightness of this bombing.

J. R. BOND

120, Howard Road, Bristol, 6.

### Theory of democracy

Alas, Mr. Macfarlane's belief that democracy accepts the "right of the individual to contract out" is unfounded; the substitution of alternative service for military at the discretion of a tribunal is quite a different thing. "Purest democracy," we are told operates in Switzerland, but all men in that State are compelled to learn the art of human butchery.

What is generally understood by democracy is (a) the dogma that "all men are born equal" (demonstrably untrue); (b) unlimited faith in "the people" (without defining exactly what this term denotes); and (c) acceptance of policy based upon the manipulated whims of mob voters rather than upon moral principles.

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## S. A. Y. E.!

"... three or four of our members were against any kind of organized collection of money; they said that the Movement had got along quite successfully on voluntary subscriptions since groups had been started in 1936. Others thought that regular and fixed contributions would solve all our financial (and most of our organizational) troubles. We had tremendous arguments and there seemed to be no point of compromise.

"There was much to be said for those who insisted you can't organize generosity. On the other hand, we were all worried about the critical financial periods through which the Union had passed. We all felt that there ought to be a spontaneous and individual response to special appeals that the Movement put out, and it was not until we had gone over the ground time and time again that we recognized that such special efforts need not interfere with regular subscriptions.

"The compromise that eventually we reached, did, indeed, make the best of both worlds. We decided to make our own assessments of what we could give regularly—to keep things going—and we agreed that such subscriptions should not interfere with our response to any special demands that were made. We agreed, in fact, that we were not in a position to act generously until we were already giving what we could normally afford—week by week—as our Income Tax for peace. Not, however, P.A.Y.E. (compulsorily and not, therefore, very willingly) but Subscribe As You Earn (voluntarily and by personal assessment).

"The other aspects of the Nottingham Scheme then seemed to fall into proper perspective. It was natural that, of the total amount collected, an agreed percentage should be kept for group expenses and the remainder should go to Head Office and the Area. We now send such amounts on regularly, but we still hope to make personal contributions to meet any special contingency..."

For full details of the Nottingham Scheme write to the Development Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1, to whom suggestions or comments about other aspects of Development work should be sent.

## The Daily Mail should read its own "History"

THE Daily Mail appears now to favour a Vansittart type of post-war settlement and to be using its undoubtedly great influence with the public to discredit all advocacy of a rational peace. It is interesting to note, therefore, the views on the last "peace" expressed in a popular one-volume "Concise History of the World," published by Associated Newspapers, Ltd.—proprietors of the Daily Mail—in 1935:

"The Versailles settlement, as the peace of 1919 came to be known, differed at the outset from the Vienna settlement of 1814 in that it was a peace dictated to the vanquished by the victors and not a common agreement negotiated by them both round a conference table."

The results of this departure from precedent are summed up as follows: "The chief responsibilities devolved upon the representatives of the four Powers, namely President Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando. Of these, President Wilson hoped to secure a fair peace; but the other three were bent on making Germany pay to the uttermost farthing" (page 727).

## "REVENGE TRIUMPHED"

The establishment of the League of Nations and the creation of the mandates system, say the authors, "marked the sum total of Wilson's achievements and for the rest the policy of

revenge triumphed all round" (page 728). Of the signing of the treaty they write:

"On May 7, 1919, the treaty was presented to the Germans for signature. Count Brockdorff-Rantzau, the German Foreign Minister, absolutely declined to sign the treaty, which he declared to have been conceived in a spirit of animosity rather than of peace. He submitted counter-proposals, but to these Clemenceau would not listen."

After detailing the clauses of the treaty the History comments that "in view of the unstatesmanlike severity of many of its articles, it is hardly to be wondered at that for the next fifteen years German foreign policy has alternatively evaded and defied the treaty" (page 731). And two pages further on we find this:

"An unremitting campaign of hatred between the nations at war had been in progress for four years when the delegates met at Paris in 1919, and they could not escape its consequences. Many of the articles of the treaty were far too severe and often far too artificial to endure."

This is undeniably the view of the Treaty of Versailles that had gained widespread acceptance before the outbreak of the present war, and these quotations constitute a very effective reply to those who advocate another vindictive or dictated peace—in the columns of the Daily Mail or anywhere else.

G.F.B.

## ROCHDALE PIONEERS

James Gregson's Co-op Centenary play, "Rochdale Pioneers," which was such a success at the Unity theatre, is being performed by the same professional cast, under the direction of Derek Birch (of the Arts Theatre Group of Actors), in the London suburbs in the next few weeks. Evening performances start at 6.30 p.m., and on the dates marked\* there are additional matinees at 2.30. Unless otherwise mentioned the venue is the Town Hall.

Feb. 2, 3\* Edmonton; Feb. 12, 13\* Ilford; Feb. 14, 15 Priory Rd. School, Acton; Feb. 16 Toynbee Hall Theatre; Feb. 17 W. Ham Municipal College; Mar. 1 Wykeham Inst., Romford; Mar. 2, 3\* Hammersmith.

Tickets (1/6, 2/6) are available from L.C.S. shops.

## "I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER."

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Further information from: General Secretary, P.P.U., Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

## POSTAL SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Home: quarterly, 3s. 3d.; yearly, 12s. 6d. Abroad: quarterly, 2s. 9d.; yearly, 10s. 6d.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or P.P.U. connexion with, the matter advertised.

## DEFINITIONS

Form 3 has been studying Australia (writes a teacher correspondent) and was asked to explain the federal system of government. These were some of the attempts:

1. "The Federal System is that because the natives will not mix with the settlers they have it so that both races get equal pay allowances etc."

2. "The Federal System is when a country chooses its own premier to rule over them with the help of parliament."

3. "The Federal System aims to keep all coloured people out of Australia."

## "I say unto you"

Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth...

A GROUP of clergymen meeting last week in Chicago said: "In considering the treatment of a defeated Germany, we as religious leaders first affirm our confident hope that the victorious Allies will be guided by justice rather than by vengeance. We believe that a re-educated German people can in time become a worthy member of the family of mankind."

The clergymen asking justice for Germans were Jewish. The meeting: The Central Conference of American Rabbis.

... But I say unto you, love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.

—Time, Jan. 1, 1945.

## Easter youth conference

During the Easter Weekend, from Thursday evening, Mar. 29, till Monday evening, Apr. 2, a conference for young people between the ages of 14 and 20 will be held at Sherwood School, Epsom, Surrey. It is hoped that representatives from other countries will be present. There is accommodation for about 24 people from this country. The conference is open to anyone who wishes to understand the problems of other countries and to learn the part that we in Great Britain can play in helping to create peace. The charge for the conference will normally be £2. Applications should be sent as soon as possible to Patrick Figgie, P.P.U., 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

## P.P.U. APPOINTMENTS

Roy Walker has been appointed Organising Secretary to the new P.P.U. Public Action Committee, with Gwyneth Anderson as secretarial assistant.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

## PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

TERMS: Cash with order, except for series bookings. Copy by Monday. 2d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra.) Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

## ACCOMMODATION

FOR ALL PROPERTIES available in N.W. London apply to Messrs. McCraith and Brooks, 44 The Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines).

WANTED. Accommodation and catering for weekend summer school for 150 people. Box 807.

CAN ANYONE OFFER home to Englishman aged 65 with long teaching experience in Germany? Pacifist, fair health. Could pay a little or give lessons in English literature or German in return for board. Offers to John Perry, Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

FLAT or small house wanted. Anywhere London. C.O. and wife (baby expected late summer). Box 808.

PACIFIST WANTS HOUSE about 6 bedrooms, suitable guest-house (preferably to rent) after war, in southern half England. High, bracing, garden, good water. V., 105 Norbury Crescent, S.W.16.

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow. The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44.)

## EDUCATIONAL

FIND RECREATION and new power to serve through speaking and writing. Correspondence (also visit) lessons 5s., classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. (PRI. 5686.)

Advertisements not accompanied by cash will not be inserted—see our terms (above).

## FOR SALE AND WANTED

WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

UNICORN BRAND Foot Paste is the safe and sure remedy for corns, hard skin and warts. It never fails. 7d. per box (inc. tax); 3 boxes post free 1s. 9d. Get it today. We repeat—it never fails. Barker's, Station Road, Sandiway, Notts.

LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons. 30s. dozen, 18s. 6d. six, 10s. three, 3s. 6d. each, all postage paid. Mention models, colours, P.N. Hardman's, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

LATEST FASHION jewellery, ear clips, good money raisers for bazaars, etc. Silver plated clips, attractive designs, carded, immediately delivered. 21s. per dozen pairs, sample 2s. no extras. Rumbelow, 22 Woodward Rd., S.E.22. FOR 5886.

BURLS, 797 Old Kent Rd., S.E.15, for your new cycle and every type of repair. New Cross 4129.

SAMPLE BARGAIN THREE. "Around a Venetian Bazaar," etching by Russell Flint, signed, £2. And others, of course. Box 785.

FOR SALE utility playpen, hardly used; wanted child's pushchair. Phillips, 319 Botolph Claydon, Bletchley, Bucks.

ART JEWELLERY and general fancy goods wanted. Cash for small lines made at home. Box 809.

COX'S 5-YEAR apple trees, 12s. 6d. (bore fruit 1944). Also other fruit trees. Compost-grown. Nicholson, Broad St., Brixworth, Northants.

LITERATURE, etc. QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

"LEARN TO SPEAK" by Florence Surfleet, 1s. 6d. (1s. 8d. post free), for use with groups or individually. Headley Brothers, 109 Kingsway, W.C.2.

FREE BOOKLET entitled "Christ, the Communist," together with Price List of Books on Prophecy, Theology, Christian Communism, 24d. Kingdom Movement, 21 Poplar Grove, New Malden.

"FALSEHOOD IN WAR" No. 18. "U.P.C. Fact Service" is now available. Price 1d. 50 for 3s., 100 for 5s. United Peace Campaign, 48 Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1.

BEDFORD NEWS-LETTER. A personal letter and short informed articles. First number out in two days. Annually 10s.; six months 5s. 6d.; specimen 6d. Secretary, News-Letter, Cairnmore, Newton Stewart, Scotland.

EXCLUSIVE NOTES from Netherlands (Donald Pritchard): "Greek Situation" (Rhys Davies, M.P.); "Death's Dividends" (Ruth Fry); "Christian Revolution Methods" (Norman Robbins); "Russia and Reconstruction": "Crucified Hand" (Don Armitage); poems (Ronald Mallone, Thomas Pittfield); "Votes for All"; Commentary: "Russian Education," 20 pages. 5d. "Christian Party News-Letter" (P.N. 214), 30 Darby Road, Oldbury.

## MEETINGS, etc.

LONDON AREA P.P.U. "What kind of peace?" Series of meetings will be held on this subject in Hyde Park, Sundays, 3 p.m.

NORTHAMPTON. Bedfordshire, Huntingdonshire P.P.U. members invited to the first gathering of the South Midlands Area with Dr. Alex Wood. Feb. 3, 3 to 6 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Woburn Sands. Trains, change at Bletchley. Buses from Bedford and Leighton Buzzard.

"WOMEN PEACEMAKERS." Speaker: Mrs. Duncan Harris, J.P., at Bloomsbury House, Bloomsbury St., W.C.1, Sat. Feb. 10, at 3 p.m. Arranged by Methodist Peace Fellowship (Women's Group) and Women's International League.

MIDLAND PACIFIST Fellowship. Feb. 4, 3 p.m., Selly Oak F.M.H. John P. Fletcher: "Obedience to Conscience."

"WORLD SOCIAL SECURITY"—C. W. Jenks (of I.L.O.), Livingstone Hall, Broadway, S.W.1. Tues., Feb. 6, at 5 p.m. First of series of eight lectures on "Towards World Recovery."

BISHOP OF BIRMINGHAM on "A Christian Approach to Peace." Kingsway Hall, W.C.2. Fri. Feb. 9 at 1.10 p.m. National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, London, W.C.1.

LONDON FORUM. Public Lecture: Frederick Lohr on "Berdyaev's View of History." 7.15 p.m. Mon., Feb. 5, 8 Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1.

Displayed advertisements: Maximum size, 3 column inches. Copy by first post Friday.

BIRMINGHAM P.P.U. A.G.M., 3 p.m., Sat. Feb. 3, Y.M.C.A., Corporation St.; 5 p.m. tea; 6-8.30 social.

## PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, Secy., PN 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff. YOU will find true friendship in the L. and H.C. Correspondence Club. Send a.e. for particulars to Secretary, L. and H.C.C.C., 39 Reighton Rd., London, E.5.

SOFT & WOOD Toy Making. Fascinating Crafts with enormous post-war possibilities. Simplified Patterns and Instruction Courses available. List and leaflet free for stamped addressed envelope. "Homecrafts Dept., Toy Works, Loates Lane, Watford.

WHITE, JAN. 24, to Gladys and Howard, a son, Paul, at Pembury Hospital, Tunbridge Wells (Caesarian section, myomectomy).

## SITUATIONS VACANT

It is impossible to confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised in Peace News. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O. 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

GOOD HOME and wages for Help Woman with small child acceptable 5 The Riding, Golders Green (SPEED 4959).

PLASTERERS, other Tradesmen and Labourers required for South and North London house repairs. Ring GUL, 2065, Stewart and Richards Ltd., 34 Glenhurst Avenue, N.W.5.

CO-OPERATIVE THEATRICAL COMPANY requires Tours Manager. Previous experience inessential. Compass Players, 27 Wilton Court, N.10.

KINGSMOOR SCHOOL, GLOSSOP, Derby. Resident Prep. School Mistress (preferably Froebel) with History. M. of L. permit held for woman born 1917 or earlier. Burnham Scale with deduction for residence. Apply Headmaster.

SHORTHAND-TYPIST for P.P.U. Headquarters. Applications to Patrick Figgie, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

COOK VEGETARIAN wanted urgently. Small Nursing Home. Good wages. Apply 894 Forest Road, Walthamstow.

Are you a regular reader of Peace News? If not, write to 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, and we will arrange for you to be supplied every week.

WANTED: Man for market gardening and woman to help in house-community. Vegetarians. Box 810.

## SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

C.O. 23 URGENTLY desires progressive welfare work; preferably N. Wales. 24 yrs. P.S.U. case-work experience. John Williams, "Bodfryn," Gaerwen, Anglesey.

C.O., 19, VEGETARIAN, seeks position in laboratory with firm that does not deal in animal slaughter products. 2 years' experience and matric. Good references. Box 806.

TYPEWRITING EFFICIENTLY EXECUTED and promptly returned. Send MSS. to Hilda Castle, 40 Cloonmore Avenue, Orington.

CERT. TEACHER. C.O., B.A., Hons. German; subjects German, Art, Music (pianist), wants teaching work anywhere. Box 804.

PART-TIME market-gardening work within 25 miles London wanted by C.O. with 2 years' experience. Box 805.

OCCUPATION on magazine in publishing house or bookshop required by unconditionally exempt C.O. Experience pre-war newspaper work, interviewing and social work. Box 811.

## MISCELLANEOUS

INSTITUTE PSYCHOLOGY, Kensington. Lectures every Tuesday, 7 p.m. Philosophy, genuine social introductions. Consultations all problems. Western 8935.

ALLYSOL—SEND stamps 5d. for two 20-page booklets of life-conserving information about garlic: (1) a herbal remedy with 5,000 years of history; (2) Rheumatism and Catarrh dissolved at their root. Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

REG. J. BAILEY, M.S.F., N.C.P., Osteopath and Naturopath. Nature-cure treatment of disease.

REGINALD BAILEY, N.C.P., Psychiatrist and Specialist in Eye Treatment (Bates Method), 134 Hoppers Rd., Winchmore Hill, N.21. Consultations by appointment. Postal advice given. Palmers Green 7868.

The latest time for the receipt of alterations to standing orders for Peace News and PN Pamphlets is first post on Tuesday before publication.

P.P.U. members who move should remember the importance of notifying their change of address to Headquarters (6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1) so that the membership records may be kept up to date.



**'OBSERVER' CONTINUED****Fear of Stalin**

IT is a habit of American journalists to look for "the Man of the year." In rejecting Stalin's claim, Time gives a representative view of this enigmatic figure:

"He was beginning to look a little different to many Americans in the dawn light of victory—or perhaps more like his pre-1941 self. After dealing Hitler one of his two heaviest defeats of the year, Stalin's central armies had stopped on the Vistula, while those on the flanks pursued secondary aims. Then followed the ill-timed martyrdom of General Bor and his heroic partisans in Warsaw; the Moscow-sponsored government at Lublin; the methodical destruction of the London Polish government. At Dumbarton Oaks, Russia's diplomats insisted that in the framework of post-war security no great Power (e.g. Russia) should be disciplined without its consent.

"Any sovereign nation may choose to drug itself with suspicion, cynicism, isolation, and history does not deny a great man his place because his aims and methods are objectionable. 'History,' someone has said, 'is a record of events which ought not to have happened.' But Joseph Stalin was not the Man of 1944."

There is no denying the fact. Stalin's policy in 1944—above all towards Poland—has created a huge undercurrent of mistrust and fear in US and Britain that will take years to set at rest. It is folly to indulge the hope that an organization of world-security can be reared on so rotten a foundation.

**Conflict of moralities**

IT may be said that Stalin's policy is itself the outcome of mistrust and fear, which has moved him to seek military security at all costs. But the cost is exacted from an ally to whom we are bound by every consideration of morality and honour. Suppose Britain had treated France as Russia has treated Poland. Not even Mr. Churchill would have survived the outburst of indignation. And—to do Mr. Churchill justice—he would never have dreamed of so treating France.

The conflict is one of basic political moralities. No reconciliation between them is possible. Compromise can deceive nobody. The antithesis remains naked. Every public profession of policy made by Mr. Churchill (as in the case of Italy and Greece) is an equally public condemnation of the policy actually pursued by Russia. This is inevitable. The principles which commend themselves to the peoples of Britain and USA by adhering to which Churchill and Roosevelt retain power, are openly rejected by Stalin.

This irreconcilable conflict we believe to be the real cause of the monstrous folly of "unconditional surrender." No agreement on the treatment of Germany is possible between Britain and USA on the one side and Russia on the other, because Stalin cannot be trusted to keep one.

**Post-war headache**

THE CCF (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation), the Canadian socialist party, gained a great victory in the Saskatchewan elections. Saskatchewan is a mainly agricultural province. It is imperative, if the CCF is to achieve its hope of becoming the government of Canada, that it should do something palpable to satisfy the farmers whose discontents gave it the provincial victory. Accordingly, Mr. Macintosh, Saskatchewan Minister for Co-operatives, recently came to see the heads of the CWS over here.

They were prepared, they said, to invest in new bacon factories in Saskatchewan. The CWS here could do with 1½ million baconers a year—one-sixth of Canada's total production. But before concluding the deal the CWS wanted an assurance that post-war Canada would lower its tariffs on British goods. That, of course, Mr. Macintosh was unable to give; it was a Dominion, not a provincial decision. But it will (says Time, Jan. 1, which reports the affair) enable Saskatchewan to bring pressure on the Dominion government.

It is a good example of the difficulties of post-war trade. Shall Britain import bacon from Canada or Denmark? Shall it first aim at producing all the bacon it can at home? This would seem to be plain common-sense. For the money spent on home-produced bacon will be spent on home-manufactures. Canada is now in the position of producing, agriculturally and industrially, far more than her 12 million population can consume. She is indeed now second only to USA as an exporting country. Britain could consume far more agricultural produce than she produces even now; but she could produce most of what she could consume. And why not?

# Science can pioneer human unity

MEN of Science are more truly responsible for the chaos of today than any other part of society. Such is the opinion of Dr. Frans Verdoorn, world famous editor of *Chronica Botanica*, the international botanical journal formerly published at Utrecht, now at Wolt-ham, Mass. Dr. Verdoorn was speaking to a distinguished scientific (mainly botanical) assembly in USA. The publicity which his address has had in this country is mainly due to Nature.

Scientists, it is argued, form one of the few groups in society which know that the concepts and ideas by which politicians and the accepted organisers of human relations are guided are mostly wrong, based on misconceptions, old superstitions and false intuitions. Yet the man of science has left not only the administration, but also the study of the administration of human life and world affairs in the hands of people who are not very appreciative of what a century of progress in the science of life has achieved.

The end of the war in Europe we may hope is now approaching. Once again we may have an opportunity to reconstruct international relationships.

**Function of leaders**

Dumbarton Oaks may be the preliminary to a new and better League of Nations but no purely political organisation is likely to be effective for long. When we speak of the re-establishment of international relations, says Dr. Verdoorn (in agreement in this respect with the majority of non-pacifists) most of us think primarily of the Allied Nations—most of us do not think clearly about the re-establishment of relations with the present enemy countries, especially with Germany. Yet workers in science, the humanities and the arts should understand that they are the members of society best fitted to pioneer in the re-establishment of relations with the enemy: they should be prepared to do so at short notice. Intellectual life is the most fundamental unity of modern civilization: that life cannot be broken without disaster.

Our world needed millions of years to develop into its present status and

it will need some time to develop into a commonwealth of nations. Yet the trend of the development of mankind is in that direction, and the groups best fitted to do so have to go ahead and assume leadership. The necessity for this has been expressed already early during this war by a manifesto signed by fifty-seven members of the Royal Society of London.

Men of science owe it to the world—and therefore to their own countries—to re-establish relations with 'enemy' colleagues, both individually and through meetings, congresses and international commissions in all fields, to the fullest possible degree and as soon as circumstances permit. We must do this whatever 'practical' commands for dealing with Germany may be in order that the German man of science shall not 'go underground.' *The world of science needs him, but the world at large needs him still more.* The mistakes made after the war of 1914-18 when most international co-operation in science was started in France, more by politicians than by men of science, and restricted to Allied and neutral countries, must not be repeated, even though we know that some 'enemy' colleagues may use scientific co-operation for other purposes.

**The total State**

Dr. Verdoorn's views on the significance of Fascism and the value of some of its achievements are not unlike those which Observer has expressed in Peace News. It is necessary to realize (he says) that the Totalitarian State is a form—evil we may think—of world evolution. It has enabled men to do things in science (research, teaching, social applications, etc.) which are not in themselves evil as is often tacitly assumed merely because they were made possible by a totalitarian government. Much that was excellent—especially in the biological and agricultural sciences—was done, during the pre-war years in Axis countries. Study, understanding and realization of these things is a necessary basis for a good programme of the re-establishment of relations, 're-education,' etc. *The politician, never let us forget, emphasises what divides: the man of science may and should emphasise what unifies.* The problem of intellectual relations with Germany demands more than goodwill: it asks for effort and study. Workers in

## Taking pacifism to the City workers

By MARJORIE HAMLYN

WEEKLY lunch-hour meetings have been held in Lincoln's Inn Fields since the Thursday after Easter. (For the benefit of those who do not know London I should explain that the pitch is not in fields, but in a formal square near the Law Courts and Inns of Court.) A policeman told us that they are the biggest meetings of the kind in the kingdom.

Crowds, of men mostly, have stood through the winds of that chilly spring, through the fly-bombs of summer—they sometimes asked the speaker to go on during alerts—through the autumn to the bitterly cold snap of this winter. The crowd has diminished, but it is still a good crowd.

People stand and listen to a speaker for various reasons. For some oratory has a high entertainment value; some find politics an absorbing game; others welcome the opportunity of airing their own views. The majority remain silent and inscrutable. Among them are probably the serious ones who think the more.

**A WIDE RANGE**

Pacifism is a big subject, and during these nine months so much of it has been covered that it is incredible that there can be any tolerably attentive person who has not been touched at some point. The pacifism that comes from the Love of God, the pacifism that appeals for decent dealing with our fellow-men, the pacifism that is wise politics, form a wide range; current topics, often chosen by the audience, have been discussed, after the pacifist's point of view has been stated.

It is when people dissent violently that they express themselves freely,

and in overhearing remarks not addressed to the speaker the pacifist can learn much of what we must understand if we are to make any headway. There are those who do not deny that we should fear God, and who agree that war is contrary to Christian ethics, who still think it inevitable that God must wait until we have dealt with the Germans, and there are people who honestly think that to insist that a moral sense is a vital part of the human make-up is to be a goody-goody, with no sense of the realities. People who pride themselves on their political acumen are perhaps the least receptive, for they start with the preconception that a pacifist is either a skin-saver or a near-imbecile, and in either case not fit to pass a sound judgment.

**COMIC RELIEF**

Then there are the simple souls on the outskirts of the crowd who are thrown into transports of merriment by a mere glance at the Peace News poster. Inattentive listeners who seem reluctant to tackle the speaker fling their expostulations at the seller—indeed to provoke mirth with the poster, and to listen to the complaints of the intense but timorous are the chief functions of the seller, for anyone who has sold eighteen copies to three hundred people has done very well.

Pacifism is a serious subject, so naturally there is comic relief. There is a communist, with a lurid tongue, who cannot be quoted verbatim in this place, eager to monopolize all question time and the speaker's time as well. He is a more faithful attendant than the man who comes to work himself up into a terrible state of frightfulness, simply for the fun of working it all off again.

He is all hate, whereas the communist does at least love "Old Joe" who, he touchingly believes, can be trusted to rumble, get wise to, tape and outwit all the qualified capitalists and fascists that ever were, and although he would be a thorn in the side of any speaker, he gingers up the crowd occasionally, and loosens their tongues.

We hear that "Where there is no vision the people perish," and after attending these meetings for nine months I would say that the people need not perish unless they choose,

pure and applied biology are in a specially favourable position to pioneer in this field.

Dr. Verdoorn elaborates his thesis with particular reference to the plant sciences. He was speaking as a botanist, primarily to botanists: if they had all been pacifists he would of course have been preaching to the converted, but he was not.

**Liberal courage**

It needed great courage at a time when all science is tending to become perverted to national or imperial ends, to express such truly liberal views. It is surely encouraging, too, to pacifists everywhere that such an address should be publicised by the leading scientific journal in the world. During the war pacifists have suffered from a grievous sense of frustration. Now that hostilities in Europe seem to be approaching their end, those pacifists who are also scientists should begin, if they have not already, to think what they can do as soon as the opportunity offers to restore the international comradeship of learning. The practice of internationalism, as Dr. Verdoorn says, probably comes easiest to scientific workers: they practise it, not for its own sake, but because it is their obvious path in the pursuit of truth. Is there a moral here for all of us? H.A.H.

Readers may like to know that the next Peace News pamphlet, to be published on Feb. 15, will be on science and war, by Dr. Alex Wood.

## News in brief

**B.E.M. for "guinea-pig"**

Alan Taylor, of the Friends Ambulance Unit, has received the British Empire Medal for bravery following a flying-bomb incident. A Baptist, Alan Taylor has served in hospital sections since joining the FAU in 1941, and has acted as a human "guinea-pig" for medical research experiments.

**Bowman appeals**

Frederick H.-U. Bowman, the pacifist author, has appealed against his conviction and fine of £20 imposed on him at Liverpool for refusing a Ministry of Labour direction to work on the land. He was released unconditionally after being detained nearly three years under Regulation 18B.

**Pianist jailed**

Francis J. Davies, brilliant young pianist from Cardiff, has been sentenced to three months' hard labour by court-martial in the Midlands and is now awaiting his Appellate Tribunal from prison. He is an attendee at Friends' Meeting for Worship.

**C.B.C.O. Bulletin**

A critical examination by Tom Bowman of a proposal by Douglas Owen for the international legal recognition of conscientious objection, and an article by Jack Carruthers on "The Board's Plan for Jobs" are among the contents of the January edition of the Bulletin of the Central Board for COs (obtainable from 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, price 3d., postage 1d. extra).

**"A Child of Our Time"**

As foreshadowed by Michael Tippett, the well-known composer, at the recent concert to mark the end of the PPU Food Relief Campaign, his oratorio, "A Child of Our Time," will be performed at the Royal Albert Hall on Feb. 28, at 7 p.m., in aid of relief for Polish children. Michael Tippett himself will conduct.

**United Peace Campaign**

The United Peace Campaign (c/o Dick Sheppard Centre, 48 Dundas St., Glasgow, C.1) has just published No. 18 of its 1d. "Fact Service," dealing with falsehood in war. The UPC is actively supporting the Glasgow Workers' Council in a campaign against British intervention in Greece, and is supplying most of the speakers. The Council has published a 3d. pamphlet (from 116 Renfrew St., Glasgow) entitled "Ours Not to Reason Why?"

**Peace posters**

"Peace means all nations working together for the common good," is the wording on the latest poster issued by the Northern Friends' Peace Board (Friends' Meeting House, Clifford St., York). As the National Peace Council is planning to issue a series of posters in connection with its Campaign for a Constructive Peace, the NFPB is suspending its own poster service until the end of March and distributing the NPC posters instead.

**A loss to Wales**

Peace-lovers in Wales will be sorry to hear of the passing of Miss Sarah Jones, of 6 Grosvenor Rd., Mold, who was one of the most faithful and ardent supporters of the pacifist movement. A donation of £10 in her memory has reached Hedydychwyr Cymru (the Welsh PPU) from her sisters.

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OR MARKET GARDEN CAT. FREE  
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